

Message Text

SECRET

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 0772

INFO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 CAIRO 15790

EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV IS EG US

SUBJECT: PROPOSED LONDON FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING

REF: STATE 161699

1. SUMMARY: INFORMED KAMEL WHY WE CONSIDER PRESIDENTIAL MEETING PROPOSED BY SADAT INAPPROPRIATE AT THIS TIME AND PREFER PROCEED ON BASIS OUR SCENARIO. KAMEL WAS DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED. WHILE HE RELUCTANTLY ACCEPTS IDEA SUCH MEETING SHOULD TAKE PLACE, HE WANTS CHANGE IN DATES AND PROCEDURE. HIS REASONS HAVE TO DO WITH (A) LEAK WHICH OCCURRED IN UNITED STATES RE PROPOSED LONDON MEETING AND WHICH HAS EMBARRASSED EGYPTIANS AND (B) ISRAELI PUBLIC REJECTION OF EGYPTIAN PLAN BEFORE IT WAS EVEN GIVEN TO THEM. SPECIFICALLY, KAMEL NOW ASKS THAT EGYPTIAN COUNTERPROPOSAL BE GIVEN TO ISRAELIS IMMEDIATELY AFTER VP MONDALE'S VISIT. ISRAELIS WILL PRESUMABLY REJECT IT. THEREAFTER, PRESIDENT CARTER CAN SEND INVITATION TO SADAT AND BEGIN FOR FONMIN'S MEETING. DATES SHOULD BE CHANGED TO SOMETHING LIKE JULY 18-19, IF THESE ARE CONVENIENT TO SECRETARY. ALSO PREFERS CHANGE OF VENUE, BUT LEAVES THIS TO US. ANNOUNCEMENT SHOULD NOT BE MADE UNTIL AFTER EGYPTIAN AND ISRAELI RE-

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SPONSES RECEIVED. AFTER MEETING, SECRETARY COULD STILL COME TO AREA AS WE HAD SAID HE MIGHT DO. HE DOES NOT BUY OUR ARGUMENT THAT SHORT DELAY WILL GENERATE PRESSURES AGAINST ANY SUCH MEETING AND WAS QUITE FIRM IN INSISTING ON HIS REVISED PROCEDURAL PROPOSAL. IN TELECON WITH SADAT, THE PRESIDENT ALSO EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT AND AGREED WITH KAMEL'S IDEA. KAMEL DOUBTS THERE WILL BE

MUCH TO TALK ABOUT AT MEETING AND MAKES IT CLEAR GOE WILLINGNESS ATTEND IS SOLELY TO ACCOMMODATE US. KAMEL ALSO ASKS THAT PRESIDENT CARTER'S INVITATION BE CAREFULLY DRAFTED AND REITERATES HIS CONCERNS ABOUT USG SUGGESTIONS WHEN THEY ARE PUT FORWARD. ISRAELIS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED POCKET THOSE THEY LIKE AND ATTEMPT TO NEGOTIATE THE OTHERS. END SUMMARY.

2. WAS UNABLE TO CONTACT FONMIN KAMEL YESTERDAY AFTER-NOON OR EVENING (HE WAS OUT FIXING UP HIS NEW APARTMENT AND NEVER CALLED BACK). MET WIQ
YIIM ALQA

HDUY
MAHER EARLY AFTERNOON TODAY, HOWEVER, AND WENT THROUGH POINTS CITED REFTTEL IN DETAIL. I ASKED THAT HE ADVISE PRESIDENT SADAT IN ALEXANDRIA OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S VIEW THAT, ALL THINGS CONSIDERED, WE WOULD LIKE TO STAY WITH SCENARIO I HAD ALREADY DESCRIBED TO PRESIDENT SADAT AND TO HIM. WE WOULD LIKE TO MAKE APPROPRIATE ANNOUNCEMENT THIS WEEK.

3. KAMEL WAS VISIBLY DISAPPOINTED. HE SAID SADAT WILL ALSO BE DISAPPOINTED, SINCE THE PRESIDENT HAD SET HIGH HOPES ON HIS IDEA. KAMEL ARGUED THAT THE POINT ABOUT EVEN HANDEDNESS REQUIRING A FURTHER MEETING WITH BEGIN WAS HARDLY VALID. BEGIN HAD, AFTER ALL, VISITED THE
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UNITED STATES JUST A MONTH AGO FOR A CONSIDERABLE PERIOD OF TIME. I SAID THAT ON THIS POINT WE WOULD SIMPLY HAVE TO AGREE TO DISAGREE.

4. SOMEWHAT RESIGNEDLY, KAMEL ACKNOWLEDGED THAT SADAT HAD INDICATED HIS AGREEMENT TO SUCH A FONMIN'S MEETING IF PRESIDENT CARTER'S REPLY WAS NEGATIVE. HE INSISTED, HOWEVER, THAT TWO DEVELOPMENTS HAVE TAKEN PLACE WHICH CAUSED HIM FEEL STRONGLY THAT THE TIMING AND PLACE OF SUCH A MEETING MUST BE RECONSIDERED AND THAT NO RPT NO ANNOUNCEMENT SHOULD BE MADE THIS WEEK. FIRST, THE UNFORTUNATE MARVIN HOWE LEAK ABOUT THE PROPOSED LONDON MEETING, INCLUDING DATES. HE RECALLED I HAD TOLD HIM WE DO NOT KNOW HOW LEAK OCCURRED AND REGRET IT, BUT, HE ARGUED, GOE MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT EFFECT OF THIS LEAK ON ITS ACTIONS. SECOND, AND THIS REALLY INFURIATED HIM, THE ISRAELIS HAD ANNOUNCED THEIR REJECTION OF THE EGYPTIAN PLAN EVEN BEFORE SUCH A PLAN HAD BEEN GIVEN TO THEM. IT TAKES THE ISRAELIES TWO MONTHS TO ANSWER OUR QUESTIONS, KAMEL COMPLAINED, BUT THEY REJECT AN EGYPTIAN PROPOSAL EVEN BEFORE THEY HAVE IT. AFTER THIS ISRAELI PUBLIC REJECTION, HE DID

NOT SEE HOW GOE CAN WITH DIGNITY AGREE THIS WEEK TO ANNOUNCEMENT OF PROPOSED MEETING. A REVISED SCHEDULE IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY.

5. SPECIFICALLY, KAMEL PROPOSED THAT WE NOW PRESENT EGYPTIAN WEST BANK/GAZA COUNTERPROPOSAL TO ISRAEL IMMEDIATELY AFTER VP MONDALE'S VISIT, I.E., JULY 4 OR 5. THE ISRAELIS WILL PRESUMABLY REJECT IT, CONCEIVABLY AT THEIR NEXT CABINET MEETING. THEREAFTER, PRESIDENT CARTER CAN SEND INVITATION TO SADAT AND BEGIN FOR FOREIGN MINISTERS TO MEET. DATES FOR MEETING

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EXDIS HANDLE AS NODIS CHEROKEE

SHOULD BE CHANGED FROM JULY 10-12 TO SOMETHING LIKE JULY 18-19, IF LATTER ARE CONVENIENT TO SECRETARY VANCE. KAMEL NOTED THAT THE SECRETARY HAD, IN ANY CASED PLANNED TO VISIT THE AREA AT ABOUT THAT TIME. IT WOULD ALSO BE GOOD TO CHANGE THE VENUE, ALTHOUGH HE HAD NO SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS ON AN ALTERNATIVE VENUE AND EVENTUALLY SAID HE WILL BE GUIDED BY US ON THE MOST CONVENIENT PLACE. AFTER INVITATIONS SENT, GOE WILL WANT TO TAKE DAY OR SO BEFORE REPLYING. ONCE BOTH REPLIES IN, PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT CAN BE MADE.

6. I REITERATED OUR CONCERN THAT DELAY IN ANNOUNCING AND HOLDING MEETING WILL CAUSE PRESSURE TO BUILD UP AGAINST ANY MEETING. SINCE WE WERE IN AGREEMENT ON THE PRINCIPLE OF A MEETING, I URGED THAT HE GO ALONG WITH OUR SCENARIO. KAMEL WAS ADAMANT AND SAID THAT SINCE HE IS THE ONE WHO WILL BE ATTENDING THE MEETING, HE WILL INSIST THAT SADAT AGREE WITH HIS REVISED SCENARIO. HE QUESTIONED WHETHER THE SLIGHT DELAY WILL GENERATE

UNMANAGEABLE PRESSURES AGAINST ANY SUCH MEETING. HE NOTED THAT HIS PROPOSED DELAY WOULD BE NO MORE THAN A WEEK OR SO. HE ALSO INDICATED THAT AFTER THE MEETING THE SECRETARY, IF HE HAS IN MIND COMING TO THE AREA, COULD DO SO.

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7. AT THIS POINT, KAMEL RECEIVED A TELEPHONE CALL FROM SADAT IN ALEXANDRIA AND TOLD THE PRESIDENT ABOUT OUR RESPONSE AND OF HIS PROCEDURAL COUNTERPROPOSAL TO US. FROM THE ENSUING CONVERSATION, IT WAS CLEAR THAT SADAT WAS ALSO DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED AT OUR TURNDOWN. HE AGREED WITH KAMEL'S PROCEDURAL COUNTERPROPOSAL.

8. KAMEL ALSO SAID THAT WE SHOULD UNDERSTAND, ESPECIALLY AFTER THE ISRAELI REJECTION, THAT HE AND DAYAN ARE NOT LIKELY TO HAVE MUCH TO SAY TO EACH OTHER. ("I WILL HAVE LITTLE TO SAY TO THAT FELLOW".) HE DOES NOT INTEND TO BE DRAGGED INTO ANY SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH DAYAN. HE IS WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH A MEETING ONLY FOR THE SAKE OF APPEARANCES AND TO ENABLE US TO POSITION OURSELVES FOR OUR OWN INITIATIVE. NEITHER HE NOR SADAT EXPECT ANYTHING TO COME OUT OF THE MEETING. GIVEN THIS SITUATION, HE WONDERED WHAT SHOULD BE SAID AFTER THE MEETING. I URGED THAT HE KEEP AN OPEN MIND ON THE SUBJECT OF THE MEETING. HOPEFULLY, IT MAY YET OFFER SOME NEW OPPORTUNITIES WHICH EACH OF THE PARTIES SHOULD CAREFULLY CONSIDER. KAMEL REMAINED TOTALLY SKEPTICAL.

9. KAMEL ALSO EXPRESSED HOPE PRESIDENT CARTER'S INVITATION WILL BE CAREFULLY DRAFTED. IT SHOULD SAY SOMETHING ABOUT SUCH A MEETING BEING CONVENED IN THE HOPE OF BREAKING THE DEADLOCK AND FINDING A WAY TO MOVE THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD.

10. FINALLY, KAMEL RECONFIRMED THAT NAGGING EGYPTIAN CONCERN ABOUT OUR OWN SUGGESTIONS WHEN THEY ARE PUT FORWARD. HE SAID THAT HE ACCEPTS OUR ASSURANCES THAT
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WE WILL CONSULT FULLY WITH GOE BEFORE DOING SO, BUT REMAINS WORRIED ABOUT HOW THIS WILL WORK OUT. SPECIFICALLY, HE DOES NOT WANT THE ISRAELIS POCKETING THE POINTS IN OUR SUGGESTIONS THAT THEY LIKE AND THEN

NEGOTIATING THE OTHERS. WHAT IS NEEDED IS SOMETHING
THAT WILL BE FAIR, IMPARTIAL AND SUFFICIENTLY
ATTRACTIVE TO BRING OTHER ARAB STATES INTO THE PROCESS.
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